These rooms, opening on the front of the house along the corridor, do not run the full length of the house. A fourth, a back room, running across the back part may open on to the kitchen. Sometimes this room is only roughly finished and used for storage or sleeping purposes or both. A grandmother often takes the grandchildren (other than the infant) to bed with her in this room. 342 [353] [513]

The kitchen is set off from the rest of the house by being on a lower level, perhaps one step. The kitchen usually has a hard dirt floor. Occasionally it is cemented. Sometimes it has a chimney, sometimes a hole in the side of the wall, which the curious smoke rejects in favor of a leisurely diffusion throughout the other rooms of the house. The kitchen is not part of the house in the sense that the other rooms are. The shoes are not removed when entering it. The kitchen opens out on to a stone or dirt path. Women frequently still eat in the kitchen because of its convenience and the need of going in and out to get water, or to wash vegetables, or to get food from the shed during the preparation of a meal. [576] [264]

The stove is basically an open hearth with a hole at the top for the cooking pan. There is also a hole directly below this into which the fuel can be placed. More elaborate stoves may have three tiers: one for the cooking, one for putting the fuel in, the lower for the ashes. The most simple, in the very poorest houses, are little more than a circular group of stones laid on the ground built up so that a pan can be placed on top. The most elaborate, made of stone, might run across the width of the kitchen and have several openings. Fuel, such as odd branches, sticks of firewood brought from the northern (Kunigami) region, crushed and dried sugar cane, or miscanthus grass of varying length is put part way into the fire and pushed further in as the ends are burned off. 354 [372]

The all stone house is smaller than the wooden house. It invariably has a tile roof, for those able to afford the stone can also buy the tile. The stone blocks used in house construction are usually about nine feet by one foot on the edge.[6] The stones used as posts are buried two feet in the ground leaving seven feet for the upright. These blocks, called ishibashida when used for house construction, have the same width and breadth; they can be cut to any desired length to even off the sides. The stones are layed like bricks with mortar to form the walls of the house. The all stone house is not common, and is usually seen in the south, where the stone is quarried, in Minatogawa, and in adjacent villages. These houses are more modern, and often bathing facilities are built in. The stone house has the advantage of being cool in summer, warm in winter. 342 [333] [184] [515]

Finally, there are the simple structures, resembling shacks or shanties more than houses. These are, as one would expect, more frequent in the areas of the war's operations. There are three main varieties, though the combinations are numerous: (1) the all grass house, now uncommon. The sides of this wattled house are usually of [362]

6 Actually they are 9 x 1 x 1 shaku. A shaku is 0.994 feet.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

1

The Daily Diet

There is little variation in the basic diet in any of the villages. Among individual families, the chief difference is in the proportion of sweet potatoes to rice; this depends on economic status and the possession of rice fields, the poorer the family, the greater the reliance on the sweet potato. Except for seasonal foods, the diet is uniform throughout the year. Neither is there much variation in the three meals. The basic foods are:

For breakfast: A soup made out of hot water and bean paste, perhaps with bits of fish or meat added, sweet potatoes, and tea.

For lunch: Rice or sweet potatoes, raw, boiled or fried vegetables, and tea.

For dinner: Bean paste soup, rice if possible, or sweet potatoes, bean curd, and tea.

The foods which supplement these basic items are: (1) Fresh fish in season, uncommon for the reasons given in Chapter X. Imported dried sardines and canned fish from Japan are more common in agricultural villages than fresh fish. Even in Hinatogawa, fresh fish is scarce when the catch is light. In summer, the fish is too valuable to eat and only unsold fish is eaten. (2) In Matsuda village, rice and pork are more frequently eaten than in the two southern villages. Rice and pork consumption is indicative of a higher standard of living. Many families have rice twice a day. Beef may be boiled, and with vegetables added, made into a soup. In the winter, the Japanese dish sukiyaki may be eaten, but the meat in this dish is often meagre.

There are many occasional foods or side dishes of which the following are the most common: (1) bean curd (tōfu). This is made at home by women. (2) Taro (sato imo) boiled and eaten as a side dish. (3) A sweet or unsweetened fritter (tenpura). Japanese tenpura usually is shrimp or other fish fried in batter. Okinawan tenpura may or may not have a filling. Frequently the filling is a paste of brown sugar, or a slice of sweet potato. At celebrations, they may have a meat or a fish filler. (4) The rice cake (mochi) made of glutinous rice (mochigome). (5) Buckwheat paste (soba), and (6) noodles (sōmen). These are fairly cheap and are always purchased. (7) Bread (pan). This is a slightly sweetened large bun, normally with a little jam or jelly filler. The bun is baked in the large towns and distributed generally by boys on bicycles to the village stores. (8) Boiled or pickled radishes, boiled pumpkin cut in small squares and served with a piece of fish or meat. (9) Onion tops and spinach boiled with a seasoning of fish, chicken, or beef. (10) Various vegetables in season.

000 vegetables in season.

262 On special occasions, cookies, cakes, and more fresh fish and meat are served. In Okinawa any food out of the ordinary is called a feast or a treat (gochisu). Fresh fish, fish cakes, beef, pork make up a feast, for these are seldom served in the routine meal. Fish, pork, and beef are universally liked, but fish is hard to get, beef is expensive, and pork is a source of cash income. Many families eat pork only at New Year.

By almost any standard, including their own, the daily Okinawan diet is monotonous and unappetizing. Nevertheless the present diet is an improvement over the pre-war one. Most villagers said that before the war, the diet consisted of the sweet potato and bean paste soup. Bean paste soup usually has a few shreds of meat or fish in it. In times of scarcity, or if the family is very poor, only the paste is used, and when this is dissolved in hot water, it makes a kind of clear bouillon which is jokingly referred to as "mirror soup" (kagami miso) because one can see his face in it. In Okinawan, it is also called "nothing in it soup" (nnshiru). Since the war, the [339] rice imports from Java, Siam, Egypt, and other foods sold through import stores have provided more variety.

272 Goats are a cheap source of meat, but many do not like goat's meat. The milk is not used for human consumption.

[415] Tea is served at all hours. Many Okinawans, however, have acquired a taste for coffee. Tea is steeped in a large pot and placed on a tray with the cups. Once made, tea stays in the pot until it is drunk. Frequently it is lukewarm or cold. Callers are [574] served tea and small chunks of brown sugar, picked up with chopsticks. Sugar is never used to sweeten tea. There is considerable eating [264] between meals, especially if visitors drop in. Women prepare a bowl [262] of noodles, of cooked vegetables, fry an egg, or slice up some bean curd. Villagers eat enormous quantities of food.

574 The people are very hospitable, but hospitality does not take the form of inviting friends to dinner except on special occasions, like a birthday celebration or a wedding. One family does not entertain another at dinner, but an individual member of a family who has worked at a friend's house may stay for an evening meal. Or a child may eat with the family of his playmates. Entertaining does [562] not include a man and his wife. The wife normally stays at home.[1]

1 In Minatogawa, I was told that the beginning of the preparation of the meal was a sign for the visitor to return home. This was not due to the broad hint of the host but to the reserve (enryo) of the visitor. "Nnn ni wariu" (Okinawan) "to be pressed by food" is said by those returning home at these times. One goes home at meal times.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

3

Daily Work Habits

512 The people of a village are continually busy. Their daily work habits depend on the season and the type of work. The work day of the fisherman is the least predictable because his activities are more sensitive to the present and anticipated weather. Most farmers continue working in their fields in a slight rain, but activity ceases with heavy rains. While the farmer works steadily and hard, there is a certain elasticity in his schedule. He does not go to the fields every morning at exactly the same time. Neither does he feel compelled to put in a full day's work every day; he is guided more by the tasks to be done. Work is interrupted by an occasional smoke or conversation with friends or neighbors passing by. There is a routine in daily life, but it is not strictly adhered to. Meal times vary from day to day sometimes by an hour. Time may be taken out from the fields to gather firewood, make bean curd, to dry out bean pods, or to fix up one's house. Three or four days in a row may be devoted to helping with another's house. The sun is the guide to time. Most houses have clocks but few are running and they are not well regulated. Perhaps the chief distinction between agriculture and fishing work is that in the former, the tasks of all blend together.

[264] [476] [805]

A farmer's work day in summer begins about 8 or 9 in the morning and ends almost the same time in the evening. Full advantage is taken of the daylight hours. In summer, the evening meal is not eaten until 9 and often later. By the time the meal is finished and the table cleared, it is ten. After short visits within the family, or with neighbors, the farmer retires about 11. In the winter, the routine is the same, but the day's work stops earlier, and the evening meal is at about 6 P.M. The fishermen do not have this unbroken routine. There is often night work and the day may be used for sleeping. Intense activity is followed by periods of greater or less leisure.

4

Clothing

175 292 565 [286] 291 [537] 000 The history of costume in Okinawa is full of interest, but it is too broad a subject to deal with here. In the old Okinawan kingdom, clothing and its color, hair pins, caps, and other articles of men's wear were used to designate rank. The clothing of the commoners had much less variety. Until quite recently, banana fibre was used in farmers' clothing. A dyed indigo kimono, stripes for men and dots for women, is still worn.

Present day clothing is of a non-descript character. The war

shopping trip to a larger town. In the very common evening visiting among men, women participate very little. 562

There has been some improvement in the social position of women since the war. In Hanashiro, for example, before the war, the husband, children, and grandparents ate in the second or third room, while the wife and sometimes the eldest daughter ate in the kitchen. (The Okinawan kitchen, though part of the house, differs from the other rooms in that it has direct access to the outside, is generally on a level with the ground, and has a dirt, cement, or stone floor). The wife in preparing the meal can go back and forth readily and need not take off her clogs or wash her feet if she goes barefoot when she goes up into the rooms. Her meal is a slight interlude between duties. 562 264 [342]

In most homes now, the women eat with the family in the main house. Some old women still spend most of their time in the kitchen watching the fire and eating their meals there. One of the reasons given for the change in attitude toward women is that many of the repatriated Okinawans brought newer ideas with them and did not practice segregation at meal times. [178]

Another important fact about social life is the drinking of the men and the abstinence of the women.[3] Young men usually begin drinking sake around the age of marriage. It is exceptional for a young man in his teens or early twenties to drink. But once this dividing line is passed, it is the exceptional man who does not drink. In each village one finds a few lifelong teetotalers. Drinking is always done in company, as the climax of a task completed, because of some happy turn of events, or because there is a party or celebration. As a general rule, the village men do not drink every day, but only when a suitable occasion arises. While there is drunkenness, I did not observe the solitary, prolonged drinking commonly associated with alcoholism in western societies. Prolonged drinking at night has the expected effects the next day, but there is very little remorse, unless a man has done something of which he is subsequently ashamed. Men who have drunk too much the night before do not hesitate to lie in bed 273 [562] [133]

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP of P. 295--Analyst]

3 In Okinawa, the commonest and cheapest alcoholic drink is sake. This is not the same as Japanese sake, the light rice wine, slightly resembling sauterne, that is usually served warm or hot. Okinawan sake is awamori, a much stronger drink of distilled rice spirits, a variety of the Japanese shochu. The alcoholic content of awamori ranges from about 25% to 30%. It is a raw liquor with an unpleasant taste. It is not the favorite, but it is the cheapest drink. Awamori is made from rice in small distilleries throughout Okinawa, bottled in large jugs and distributed to village shops. Most shops carry it. Sometimes there are special sake shops. Awamori or sake is sold for about Y14 per go (.318 pint). The normal intake for an evening is considered to be 2 go. Most men are fairly inebriated after drinking this much. The American army canteen, when available, is the favorite sake container. Japanese and American beer and Japanese sake are liked, but too expensive. 279 435 809

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

Home Industries, Arts, and Crafts

438 Home industries, arts, and crafts are not a conspicuous part of the life of the villages studied. Even before the war, home crafts, training in dancing, singing, landscape gardening were not cultivated to any degree.

252 Certain foods, like bean curd and bean paste, are made in the home. There is a standard method of preparing bean curd. The soy beans are soaked until soft and then mashed in a hand operated stone mill or quern. This mill has two round stones. The top stone, turned by hand, rests on the stationary bottom stone. The crushed beans, thinned by frequent dashes of water, ooze out of the space between the two stones. This liquid is collected and strained through a cloth drawn over the top of a frame box. The residue in the cloth is saved for pig food. The liquid is boiled. After it [231] curdles, it is strained. The curds remain in the cloth, the liquid is also used for the pigs. The curds, of the consistency of a soft cottage cheese, are wrapped in a cloth and put in the frame box. A tight fitting lid is put on the box and pressed down hard to expel the rest of the liquid. After the curd has been thoroughly pressed, the frame box is turned upside down, the curd taken out, and the cloth wrapper removed. The smooth mold can now be sliced. It is a common sight to see women operating these mills in the villages before a family celebration or a public holiday. Bean curd, fried, [509] boiled in a soup, or in a mixture with vegetables, or as an ingredient of sukiyaki is always served at a party.

25 Bean paste (miso), an even more important food, is also made
252 in the home. Most families serve bean paste soup (misoshiru) every
[264] meal every day. It has four basic ingredients: soy beans, rice (or barley), salt, and water. Recipes differ considerably among families. In one recipe, 8 sho of rice are boiled, after which it is spread out on a large flat basket to drain, and then placed on a mat and allowed to ferment for about one week. An equal amount of soy beans, crushed in a stone mortar, is mixed with the rice. Salt (about 7 go, one go being 1/10 of a sho) is added and the mixture is boiled.[8] The salt retards fermentation and is a preservative. If obtainable, an American hand food grinder is preferred to the mortar and pestle. The mixture is put in a large jar (tsubo) which is placed in the kitchen or in a storeroom and allowed to stand at least a year, sometimes for three. With age, the paste becomes sweeter and is considered to be better. A woman may make three large jars of bean paste 3 times a year, the frequency depending on the size of the jars. Some are 5 1/2 feet high. Occasionally the cycad is an ingredient of miso. Every house has a supply of bean paste. When ready for use, it is very soluble in water.

[804] 8 A koku equals 10 to equals 100 sho equals 1000 go, 47.96 US gallons liquid, 5.12 US dry bushels.

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1983 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

There are no uniform sleeping arrangements. The larger the family, the more corners of the front rooms and rear room are occupied. Since the number of comforters is limited in most families, two or three members of the family share one. Father and mother do not always sleep together, and, even if they do, an infant may sleep between them. When there are several children, another child may sleep next to the father, so that in one row there may be mother, a baby, father, and an older child. One or two children usually sleep with the grandmother in another corner. In several families an older sister may sleep with younger brothers; in others, two elder brothers, or an older sister and an older brother, may sleep next to each other. Children do not usually sleep at other people's houses, but when they reach junior high school age, a girl may stay with a girl friend or a group of boys may sleep together at one house. 513

A simple desk and chair are kept in each house where children go to school. These are put in one corner of the front room, except in large houses with a third room in front, which is reserved for schoolchildren of the house, who also sleep there. Around the study corner, books are kept on a crate or shelf. Only the biggest houses have a niche in their "first" room. Paintings and scrolls, used to decorate alcoves before the war, have been lost, and few people have acquired replacements. Many families decorate rooms by pasting pictures from magazines and newspapers on the walls. Some have reproductions of the Japanese Crown Prince Akihito, others scenic pictures from Japan. 352 353

Only a few recent buildings have inner sliding doors with paper screens. The paper is often left off during the hot season and put on before New Year. If children or cats are around, the splendor does not last long, and even an adult's hand frequently punctures the screen in trying to open the door. Holes are left unrepaired for the remainder of the year. 342 356

The eating corner between kitchen and rear room is the place where most families gather in the evening, especially during the winter. An informal caller may join them there. If it is cold, a brazier is put in the center, filled with pieces of charcoal on top of old ashes to provide heat for those sitting around it. These braziers vary in type: the poorest families use the bottom of an oil drum filled with ashes; others use pottery jars or small wooden boxes lined with metal. 342 264 354

Crockery used in most houses is of a simple type. If breakage occurs, as it often does, a cup or bowl can be replaced for a few yen at the grocery store. Well-to-do families may have an extra set of teacups, which are used for guests. Several families also own lacquer ware, but it is not in daily use. Like cups and bowls, chopsticks are simple and inexpensive. They last a long time and are seldom lost. Children do 415 [412]

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

an empty oxygen bottle with a wooden mallet to mark the time. The noon bell tells people in the fields and mountains that it is time for the midday meal and helps those who have a clock to compare the time. The evening bell indicates that it is time to end the day. Schoolchildren do not need a clock, since they get up early in the morning and go to school soon after, knowing that they are probably early. For most adults, daylight and sun position are enough to tell the approximate hour of the day. Some take arrival and departure of the bus, four times a day, as a point of orientation.

Old women are the first to rise in the morning. Long before dawn during the winter, or with the first light of the summer day, they get up and start a fire to boil sweet potatoes and heat the soybean soup. Blue smoke rising through the thatched roof into the early morning sky indicates that life in the village has begun. Children soon awake. The door is pushed open and a sleepy child appears to urinate off the edge of the house. Men are the last to rise. Considering the effect of the sake which they may have consumed on the preceding evening, it is remarkable that they are able to wake up so soon. By 6:30 the sleepiest person has risen.

The addition of outer clothes to the underclothing in which most people sleep is simple. Cold water splashed over the face and a quick turn at the toothbrush is all the toilet needed to begin a new day.

The task of folding comforters and taking down the mosquito net falls to one of the older children or to the mother. Older children and young girls help to carry water from the tank, the first task that has to be done after getting up. After breakfast, women feed the pigs. By about 7 o'clock everybody is ready for work. On a good day people leave for the mountains or start toward their fields—schoolchildren are on their way, too.

By 8 o'clock, except during very poor weather, the village is left to the old people and young children. Little boys and girls hang around, waiting for kindergarten to start at 9 o'clock. Play begins for them after they leave the house in the morning and does not end until evening.

For men and women, the routine of work in fields and forests is prescribed by seasonal activities which demand their special attention, but there are daily chores, such as digging potatoes, picking vegetables, and collecting feed for the animals and firewood for cooking. Only a few men who go to the mountains, taking their midday meal along, are away all day. The rest come and go during the day from the rice paddies, potato fields, or forests, so that there is repeated contact between children and their parents. A young child, even if left in the

512 461 [855 [962 care of an older sibling or the kindergarten teacher, therefore has a chance to see the mother. Men and women who have gone to the mountains return with their first load of wood around 10 o'clock. The mother will return again around noon and prepare the midday meal: noodle soup, fried cabbage with dried shrimps, perhaps rice, and always sweet potatoes. After lunch there is a short rest period. During the hot summer months this rest extends to an hour or more, and on the hottest days people lie in their houses sleeping during the noon hours. Midday is also a time for social interaction. There is some visiting back and forth. Old people always seek each other's company, and younger ones back from the fields or forest may join them for a while.

[574

512 [231 512 515 Toward evening blue smoke indicates again that food is being prepared. Pigs are fed by the women in late afternoon. Then women, young girls, or boys fill water buckets and carry them home. After 5 there is a heavy run on the tank or faucets, and this is often the time when families start preparing a bath. It takes until dark to warm up an oil drum filled with water and heated underneath by scraps of wood and twigs. People take their bath after dark. Since the bath house was destroyed during the war, ablutions take place outside near the tank under a faucet or in an old oil drum in one's backyard.

512 [231 [938 Young men who return from the mountains wash their horses in the sea. The women who sell fish call on each house at this hour to peddle their wares. The village store, which has only seen a few customers in the morning and during noon, now has its busiest hour. Mothers send their children to buy noodles, kerosene, rice, or seaweed or else they come themselves, a baby on their back or the toddlers following them.

[889 This is also the hour when the young men and women gather to do joint work in the fields of their association or to play volleyball on the playground. Meanwhile, all forest workers have returned and busily cut the last pieces of firewood, bundling them before the store clerk comes along to buy the load. Some adults sit near the playground and watch the children.

512 264 Work goes on until dark. Only then do families gather for the evening meal. During the summer this may be as late as 8 o'clock. For many families this is the only time during the day when everybody gathers in the family circle. At this time family affairs may be discussed and plans made for the next day's work or other pending matters.

512 262 264 The evening meal consists of rice, a bean paste or noodle soup, and some fish. Meat is served occasionally if a goat is killed or on holidays when someone has slaughtered a pig. Most families cannot afford to buy more than small portions of meat, which are fried or made into

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

soup. Nothing is wasted and leftovers are kept for the next meal. The majority of people are fast eaters, and chopsticks move from bowl to mouth quickly and deftly. Some families eat silently, others enjoy talking during the meal.

Before and after full moon, people like to go out after supper and gather in small groups by the store to talk and smoke or to visit each other. Less running back and forth is observed during dark nights. There is also a seasonal variation in that respect. On cold winter nights, or when it rains, doors are closed early, and visitors slip into the house by the side kitchen door. On warm nights all houses are open, and one can see people sitting in their living room by the light of a kerosene lamp; passers-by just call over and then go in for a chat. Guests are served tea, bits of brown sugar, and other sweets. Men get together at this time and start talking over a cup of sake. A relative or neighbor, bottle in hand, walks in and joins the party. Here and there somebody pulls a samisen out of the corner and starts singing.

Evenings are also the time for village meetings, finance group meetings, family gatherings, and other formal get-togethers. Several times during the week a light shines from the village office or the store office, where some of the village leaders meet to discuss community affairs. In the winter, household-head meetings or other general meetings are called for 8 o'clock; in the summer they do not start until 9 o'clock. In the absence of clocks, few meetings ever start on time.

The young men and women have their get-togethers at the clubhouse in Udenaha. Both sexes attend, sometimes for lectures by a village official on village affairs, sometimes for lessons in bookkeeping and the use of the abacus in business, for which one village leader dedicates his time, or for other educational purposes. Once a week they have a social evening with discussion and sometimes folk dances. On nights when no meetings are scheduled, young men gather at someone's house to smoke, drink, or sing together. If enough sake is available, parties can become noisy. Occasionally a fight or quarrel starts later in the evening after everybody has drunk steadily. Such interruptions on quiet evenings are rare and seldom occur more than once or twice a month. Loud singing at midnight or later, a group of gay men knocking on somebody's door, these are the only disturbances an early sleeper may experience if a party is held somewhere.

By 11 o'clock mosquito nets are hung in the rooms and comforters spread on the floor. Except in the house where men gather to drink, quiet descends over the village around that time. Individuals, however, may be seen until long after midnight. Taira goes to sleep late, and although people claim that everyone gets eight hours of sleep, it

2:Maretzki & Maretzki B-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

243 offered at the village shrine by the priestess. Today key agricultural
[782] events are still marked by small ceremonies in which the priestess be-
[793] seeches or thanks the gods, but the actual day for planting is determined by weather and the condition of seed.

When the rice is transplanted in March, the whole family spends long hours in the paddy. Then the paddies swarm with people; some prepare the soil by spreading fertilizer, others stand in the ooze to set
[476] the seedlings. Transplanting is done by mutual assistance groups, which will be discussed later in this chapter. They guarantee everyone a sufficient number of helping hands during the painstaking, rapid work, which has to be finished within a limited time. In a few days the whole paddy area suddenly turns from brown into the tender green of the young shoots. Once planted, intermittent weeding is all the care that is needed.

[261] In July the rice turns brown and is ready for harvest. This is an
[857] event of joy for the whole village, for young rice is most delicious and loved by everyone. By then vacations have started, so that school-children can help to cut rice and carry bundles to the spot where it is threshed in treadle-type machines, located either near the field or behind one's house. As soon as the rice is threshed, the grain is carried to a place in the village where the wind blows freely. There a woman holds a flat winnowing basket filled with grain at an angle to let the
[782] breeze separate the chaff from the grain. The first rice is cut by men
[264] and offered at the family shrine before the whole family eats a specially
[251] prepared gruel. Rice is usually stored in one or two oil drums in the kitchen-side corner of the front room. Better houses have a metal-lined
[256] storeroom. Once a week a supply is taken to the miller to be hulled and polished.

Those whose fields are sufficiently wet plant a second crop, and the cycle is repeated once more in midsummer, with the second harvest falling in late December.

244 Sweet potatoes can be planted throughout the greater part of the year if the soil is not too dry. They take from five to seven months to
[262] grow to full size. Although less popular than rice, no part of the plant
[231] is wasted. The large tubers are consumed, the small ones are usually fed to the pigs; the young leaves are used as vegetables, the older ones cooked into pig food. Slips are cut and used for planting a new crop.

The preferred variety of potato (*tadushi imu*) is grown in the dry paddies during the second rice season. To plant this potato, the soil must be piled up to form a long, narrow, flat-topped mound. One of the hardest jobs for farmers, this is done by men in the humid heat of a midsummer day. Women set the slips after the earth has been moved.
[251] These potatoes are the only variety which are thought to improve with

before noon but for the fact that she had to return to attend to the infant.

If a grandmother is available, the mother straps the 3-to-4 months old baby onto the grandmother's back in the morning and goes off to the mountains with her husband to haul firewood or to the fields to cultivate sweet potatoes. For the first six months she returns to the house frequently during the day to nurse the infant. It is likely that while the infant demands feeding at short intervals, a mother will work in or around the village. At one of the locations for firewood bundling she can make the bamboo rings, fit the cut wood into them, and stack the bundles.

Throughout the morning hours grandmother, with the infant on her back, wanders about the village. Occasionally she offers her dry breast to the bawling infant who cannot seem to wait until its mother returns from the fields or mountains. If the mother is nearby, she hurries so that the infant does not cry for long. When the hour for lunch approaches, the grandmother hurries home to begin preparations for the noonday meal. As she walks, the infant's head bobs up and down, forward and back precariously, but it continues to sleep undisturbed.

After lunch has been eaten and the infant nursed, the adults in the household sip their tea and rest for an hour or so. Within that hour the mother may play with the infant or nap with it nestled in her arms. Rousing themselves from the noon nap, the adults return to the mountains and fields. The infant is again strapped to the grandmother's back, but this time as she slowly wends her way to the main thoroughfare, she calls out to someone in a house which boasts one of the few clocks in the village. "Hey, what is the time there?" The answer will quicken her pace, for it is near the time for an older sibling to return from school. As she reaches the main street, she joins other grandmothers as well as mothers who are anxiously scanning the direction from which the schoolchildren return. Each admires the infants on the other's back and exchanges timely topics of the day, but as the minutes pass and no children appear, they begin to grumble about the "irresponsible siblings who *must* be playing on their way home." At last the older child returns, and the grandmother hurries home with her charges, promptly transfering the infant onto the back of the older sibling. The old woman rushes to get her hoe and basket, mumbling to herself about the quantity of potatoes she should harvest for the next day's use.

An older child who ignores the crying of his infant charge will be criticized severely by his peers. If the mother happens to be in the

2iMaretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

effectively in the case of a boy who did not respond to red pepper or black paper. The mother described how she tried to fend off the boy one day by simply refusing. As he fussed and cried there was a loud clanging of the pots in the kitchen. The boy stopped crying and looked at the mother who pretended to be very frightened. "Look now! There! It's a big rat coming for your mother's breast, let's hide it, quick, quick!" And with that she buttoned her blouse hurriedly and took the boy in her arms. She laughed as she described how she reminded him thereafter about the rat and how he ran to her and held onto her breasts protectively.

For the child, this whole interim period is a stormy one filled with tantrums, whining, and obstinancy. At no time, however, does the child resort to thumbsucking or other breast substitutes. For older siblings who are his caretakers, this period is a very unpleasant one. Many things displease the child. If his caretaker squats, he screams to have him stand; if he stands, he whines to have him walk. Frequently the sibling caring for him reflects the changing attitude toward the child, and, jiggles him up and down impatiently with a frown and curt comment, "What is it!"

As far as actual nourishment is concerned, weaning should not be so traumatic. Long before weaning commences, when the child is about one, he is given a spoon with which he can learn to feed himself. If families can afford it, they purchase new spoons and special small-sized rice bowls as well as chopsticks for these novices. When the budget is so limited that purchases of new implements are impossible, adult-sized ones are used, and often as not the tablespoon used for cooking and serving proves useful.

At mealtime the entire household sits in the back room, which is next to the kitchen. The head of the family sits nearest to the raised hearth, and the rest of the members form a circle to the left and right of him at a low round or rectangular table. The baby sits on his mother's or grandmother's lap. Usually the mess resulting from this early training period in self-feeding is ignored. The adult holding the novice in his lap occasionally picks up the dropped rice and thrusts small pieces of fish or vegetable into his mouth. Only when he bangs the table excessively with his spoon do his elders mildly chide him. At first the adult holding him will absently reach for the offending arm and slip some food into his mouth. Later they will begin reprimanding him by scowling and glaring at him saying, "Me-me!" (child talk for "eye," meaning "I look at you disapprovingly.") But all this is done in a very gentle way, and often when the novice bursts into tears from fright of the disapproving response, he will be hugged, laughed at, and

264
862
476 Six Cultures: Studies of Child Rearing

[853] told, "No, no, no." In this manner the child is taught his early table manners.

As the child approaches the age of 2, the mother begins to praise him for eating without messing but still does not scold him if he fails to do so. He is the center of interest at the table, and his grandparents as well as older siblings encourage him with smiles and expressions of approval. At this time he loses interest in the spoon and is attracted to [412] the chopsticks, which everyone else at the table uses. As he struggles to handle the sticks, the adult holding him sets them in his hand. Holding his hand, with the chopsticks held in the proper position, they guide him a few times; then, as he protests and indicates annoyance at being restrained, they leave him to experiment for himself. This ritual is repeated at each meal, but the child is fed from the adult's chopsticks until he has mastered the technique for himself. The child is not hurried along in his experimentations or learning attempts. The adult praises each fortunate action and quickly slips food into the smiling, open mouth, and the child continues without protest.

Before each meal, people in the village raise their bowls and chopsticks slightly and bow their heads momentarily, murmuring, "Itadakimasu" (a polite signal that the meal is about to be partaken). Similarly, at the conclusion of the meal, the bowl is raised with a brief nod of the head, but this time the expression offered is "Gochiso-sama" (to indicate it was a treat . . . feast). Two very outspoken and good-humored mothers would nurse their young babies, then take the little hands, fold them over each other, palm sides up, gently push the bodies forward, and say, "Gochiso-sama!" Serious training in this aspect of eating etiquette, however, is left until the child is learning to feed himself.

862 Weaning, then, does not involve a dramatic change in all aspects of
866 the diet of a child, and in many ways may be most traumatic as a withdrawal of the indulgent nurturance of the mother. With the arrival of the new baby, a further step in the emotional weaning takes place. The child is denied his mother's back, for she now has a new baby to tend and eventually to carry.

Treatment of succorance during weaning contrasts sharply with that of the infancy and early childhood period. Unless there is a grandmother or older siblings in the family, this is the time of real deprivation for the child. He is ridiculed, shamed, and punished for demanding to be carried. It is a time marked with temper tantrums, extended periods of crying, and sullenness. Without doubt, this is the most trying stage in the life of a Taira child. Until the words, "You are a big

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

872 The principal smiles as he approaches the classroom but soon begins
[876] to frown. He sees that the boys have been misbehaving. Returning the slight bow of the first-grade teacher, he stands just inside the door, looking over the boys with a disapproving eye. Immediately order and quiet reign.

After a short review of the morning's lesson, the teacher picks up each of the books which has been issued to the children. As she explains the contents of each, she names them and lectures on the care and use of books. She interrupts her talk when she notices two children without books. Because they had no older siblings and their parents had failed to appear two days before to pay for and receive their textbooks, these children had none. She quickly jots down their names and the name of the village from which they came and assures them that they will receive their books the next day.

872 At 12:15 the children are sent out to wash their hands and told to
●264 eat their lunches. It seems that the most wanted, long awaited event
[863] of the school day has finally arrived, for even the best behaved children break into a run before they reach the door. The teacher's plea to walk out of the room goes unheeded.

Those children with elaborate lunches and containers proudly spread their meals out on the desk. Rice balls, a fried egg seasoned with soy sauce and bits of scallion, a touch of soybean paste, and a sliver of fish, packed by the proud mother of a family of some means, are exhibited freely. With some reluctance another lunch, consisting of rice balls, pickled vegetable, and a bit of bean paste, is shown. Those with three or four sweet potatoes and a small handful of vegetable mixed with soybean paste or with sweet potatoes alone slip out bits of food from their closed containers in quick, shy movements. When the girls have satisfied their curiosity as to the contents of each other's lunch boxes, they begin to exchange bits of egg for pickled vegetables, soybean paste with scallion for a sweet potato or some fish. The boys do not exchange portions of their meal but instead eat silently and swiftly.

872 Standing beside their desks on which lie books and empty lunch
855 boxes, the children face the teacher. "Students, good-bye!" "Teacher, good-bye!" answer the children in unison. Older siblings and the few mothers who accompanied the first graders to school gather. The questioning is rapid and amusing. "What did you do, did you behave, did you eat all of your lunch, did you learn anything?" Without waiting for answers, the older siblings, who have to remain in school until 2:35, begin to recite the rules on walking home and to reiterate the

TRAINING IN SKILLS

868 There are no complex systems of training in skills. Adults rely heavily on observation and imitation on the part of children; they seldom "teach" them to do things systematically. Parents were surprised and amused when questions such as "How do you teach children to transplant rice, harvest rice, or otherwise help in the fields?" were put to them. "We don't teach them; why they just learn by themselves," was the usual answer.

Children learn by observing and experimenting. Whatever adults are doing, children are present to watch their activities and overhear their conversations. Although parents do not seem to make any special [852] efforts to have a child attend a function so that he might learn adult ways, they take their children to the fields, parties, public meetings, and rituals long before they consider them ready to absorb any learning.

868 In the fields, children play among rows of vegetables. When a parent, grandparent, or older sibling stops for a rest to have a cup of tea, 857 the little ones pick up a hoe and attempt to imitate their elders. While 243 rice is being transplanted, throngs of children sit on the dikes in the [264] paddies, dangling their legs in the mud. They intently watch adults transplanting and weeding the paddies. Gradually they edge down into the mud to stamp with their bare feet in the ooze as they have seen adults do, until a warning shout arrests their educational water play. During the harvest season, groups of children carry mats out to the paddies and watch infants who need to be near their mothers for their feedings. While the infants sleep, the older children walk along the dikes, watching the work that is going on and clamoring to be of some help. Even a little child of kindergarten age stands by gloomily until an adult laughingly hands him a small bundle of rice sheaves to carry over to the threshing machine. By the time the child is 8, he has learned enough by watching to attempt cutting and tying small bundles of rice sheaves.

868 After the harvest, rice straw can be found in great quantities around 283 the village. Some of the best straw is preserved to be made into rope. If there are rainy days, men will sit and twist the rice straw into rope, [526] while 8- and 9-year-olds sit and watch. In a few days rope games and swings are in evidence everywhere. Little 4- and 5-year-olds stand by watching the older children, and soon they pick up stray bits of straw and twist them to no avail. A younger sibling whines as her move-

ments fail to form rope. Her brother quietly takes the straw and without a word demonstrates the deft movement. She watches and tries again when her brother hands it back to her. She is unsuccessful. As she starts to whine again, her brother picks up a length of finished rope and gives it to her. She runs happily toward the playground, waving her rope in the air. 868 [283]

Although young children are not taken to the mountains, they can sit in the village afternoons and watch adults sawing, splitting, and working the bamboo rings used in tying faggots. Boys do not go into the mountains to cut firewood until they are about 10 years old, girls until they are 12, although they may have begged their parents for several years to let them help with cutting and hauling of firewood. But as long as they are still too young for mountain work, they try to use the cutting tools. Tools are left within reach of children so that opportunities for experimentation are almost unlimited. Only their size and weight deter the youngest children. A 2-year-old girl was seen imitating her mother by attempting to whittle off pieces of bamboo with a large 12-inch blade bushknife. A teen-age girl working nearby passed the little girl several times without saying anything. The little girl's father also worked nearby but, like everyone else, was too absorbed in his work to notice his daughter. Finally her mother looked up from where she worked, noticed the huge knife in the girl's hand, and saying in a loud, angry voice, "Why do you carry this, fool?" took the knife away. [313] [412]

Other small children pick up hoes and forks to try them in the yard or in the pigsty. Sickles and knives are used expertly by many 6-year-olds. Bandaged fingers and numerous little scars are evidences of learning and experimentation. Occasionally an adult will say to a 9- or 10-year-old. "Hold the sickle this way so you won't get hurt," but more often than not the child has already learned by himself. One 4½-year-old boy shinnied up the side of a feed box to get a sickle. There was no adult around to peel the long stalk of sugar cane he had been given, so, with expert strokes and handling of the razor-sharp tool, he shaved off the thick, hard skin. By the time his mother arrived on the scene, the child was busily chewing and sucking on a considerable length of the peeled cane. The mother was asked who had taught him to use the sickle, and she was at a loss for a reply. "I don't know! He must have watched us and learned by himself by trying it out!" she said. [412] [264]

Little girls watch their mothers cooking and doing other household work. By watching and asking questions they learn how to light a fire and when to extinguish it to cook a perfect pot of rice. They [252] [296]

CHAPTER IX: HEALTH

W. P. Suttles

121 This chapter will begin with a section on the human body---attitudes
128 toward and practices concerned with its care and its functions. This will be followed by a section on sanitation---attitudes and practices. A third section will deal with concepts of the supernatural and their relationship to illness. A fourth will describe the various types of "medical" practitioners found in Okinawan society, and Okinawan attitudes toward modern medicine. It will be seen that this chapter contains much that is often described under the heading "Religion" or even "Values" and contains little on the actual state of health and incidence of disease among the Okinawans. But we believe that this is as it should be in a report on Okinawan culture. That sanitation is poor and disease is prevalent is no doubt all too apparent to the medical observer. A detailed study of the diseases themselves must be made by research workers competent in that field. A study of native culture, however, reveals some of the underlying causes of poor sanitation and poor health. We feel therefore that this is a valid unit and properly put under the title "Health".

1. The Human Body: Practices and Attitudes

261 Eating and Drinking Okinawans enjoy food and drink and make numerous events the occasion for their enjoyment. Questions about holidays frequently soon elicit long descriptions of the types of dishes appropriate to each. To a Westerner the variety may not seem great, but to the Okinawans a slight difference in the consistency of a soup may call for a
262 differentiating term. The variety of foods is probably as great as it can be within the limits of Okinawan resources. Foods are valued differently.
[571] Rice ranks high, sweet potatoes low. Pork is esteemed, as in China but not in Japan.

• 264 Three meals a day is usual. Rice, soup, and boiled foods are served in bowls, fried foods in flat dishes. These are eaten with chopsticks. The bowl may be held in the hand near the mouth; soup may be drunk directly from it. Some foods, such as noodles, are habitually sucked up with considerable noise. This noise is neither made purposely nor is it avoided; it just does not matter. Children may bolt their food without being scolded for it, but adults seem to have no compulsion to eat fast, as the Japanese are said to
[574] have. On festive occasions men are served in the first room, women in the second. On these occasions a portion may be served already in a box so that it may be taken home. On ordinary occasions the family may eat together,
[321] though women often eat in the kitchen by the oven. Conversation of both
[574] light and serious matter may accompany eating. Serving food is essential to the entertainment of guests and to the payment of social debts.

273 Drink is also essential to entertainment. Tea is drunk first thing in the morning and at any time of the day or evening. But for men something
[272] stronger is also desirable. Usually it is the clear, strong, distilled drink

had complained to the police about this but the police had said that this was a mental disorder and therefore not their affair. The disregard shown the young boys in this case accords with Okinawan attitudes toward children discussed elsewhere; they are not developed enough, perhaps, to be corruptible. Another example is that of a male employee of a 'ryōtei' in another city who is in the habit of putting on a woman's kimono and wig and singing in a falsetto voice for the amusement of male guests. He is not known to "take guests" but is very effeminate in his ordinary manner. School girls are said to form strong attachments to one another, but there is no indication of the persistence of such relationships.

The terms for the sex organs, tani, "penis", and hoo, "vulva", are used rather freely by older persons, but children are expected to use them only for serious purposes. It is said that if children used the terms repeatedly in joking they might be scolded for "dirty talk". An old woman once told me, in the presence of several younger women and a twelve-year-old girl, an amusing story about an old woman who always sat with her kimono pulled up and was therefore called "Hoo-Hai Ayaa", "Mother Vulva-Visible". Everyone laughed but the girl, who looked rather embarrassed. After the battle in 1945 when American food was issued in quantities, Okinawans became familiar with wiener sausages, which they still remember with relish as tani-gwaa, "little penises". As in Japanese, the word for sexual relations is formed by adding the verb "to do" to the word for vulva. This term would not be used before children or in polite conversation.

2. Sanitation

An American, watching the habits of daily living of an Okinawan family, may find his first impression to be one of shock. In the morning the sliding doors that kept out any fresh air all night are pushed open and the children, dressed in the underclothes they have slept in, walk sleepily to the step and urinate off it. Father steps down and walks a few feet around the side of the house and does the same. Grandmother is already in the kitchen preparing breakfast and smoke soon fills the upper air in the main part of the house, looking for a way out in the absence of a chimney. Father goes to the well with a small towel around his neck, throws cold water over his face, and washes it with a little soap. He then brushes his teeth long and hard and puts the family toothbrush back on the hook for Mother to use later. Mother takes down the great mosquito net the family has slept under, folds up the quilts, and brings out breakfast---tea, a thin soup, and sweet potatoes. Soon tea grounds and potato peels come flying out onto the ground in rapid succession. A chicken walks in from a neighbor's yard, pecks diffidently at a potato peel, and walks on, leaving a token of gratitude behind. The sun begins to warm the air and the flies to swarm around the toilet behind the house, into the kitchen, across the remains of the family's meal in the main rooms, and around the scraps in front. Father goes to work and the older children go to school. Mother washes the dishes at the well, in cold water without soap, and leaves them to dry in the sun. Flies light on them.

The visitor looks into the toilet. It is an oil drum with a platform over it and a wood and canvas shelter over that. The cover is off.

751
514 The drum is nearly full and its surface is in constant motion, a seething
343 mass of maggots. One of those men with the carts that cause you to cross
[364] to the other side of the road will come in a few days to dump it, he hopes.
574 He crosses the yard and is invited into the house. He takes off his shoes
751 and steps up onto the floor. It is surprisingly clean, he finds. A mat is
[356] spread and he sits cross-legged upon it. Tea is offered and he accepts,
thinking that it must have been made from boiled water. He learns later
that he was wrong. He is given a fan and perceives that its function is
keeping the flies away as much as it is creating a breeze. In a spirit of
friendly cooperation he and Grandfather take turns shooing the flies off
the broken chunks of black sugar that have been placed before them. A
larger blue-bottle fly enters and someone makes a special effort to chase
[825] it out. Should the visitor be so crude and impolite as to mention flies
and in connection with the toilet, it will be pointed out that only the
blue-bottle flies are hatched from the maggots in the toilet. The smaller
black house-flies simply produce more flies and hence are harmless.

• [264] Bananas are served and the peels follow those of the potatoes out
[515] onto the ground. Smaller children run in and out. One child comes in with
its nose running. After a time Mother pulls up its shirt tail and wipes the
[757] mucus off the upper lip. The child has not been well; Mother or Grandmother
may take it to the yabuu, who will burn moxa on its skin at the proper
[753] places. A neighbor's child walks by; its face and nearly hairless head are
a mass of scabs and its eyes are almost shut by pus. Someone laughingly
explains that this is what happens when you don't cut a baby's buttocks
properly with a razor to draw out the bad blood.

The visitor is urged to take more tea and sugar. He is complimented on his interest in Okinawa and is asked innumerable questions about America. The family is eager for knowledge and for further contact. As he rises to leave, he is urged to return. He puts on his shoes, finding one slightly
[753] damp from the poor aim of the youngest child. He is cautioned to wear his hat and knows by now the unspoken fear---encephalitis---caused by too much
[296] exposure to the sun. He notices that around the well where Mother has been doing laundry a great pool of water is gradually sinking into the sand. As he picks his way across the yard he wonders if the family would not be better off living in a houseboat, preferably in a fast-moving stream.

751 Such are some of the features of Okinawan life. Yet it would be a mistake to assume that there are no standards of sanitation. There are; they
356 are simply narrower than those of most Americans. Many Okinawans do throw
751 garbage out their front doors as indicated above, but it is also true that the floor of the house is usually cleaner than many American floors. It has to be clean; people sit on it and sleep on it. People take off their shoes before stepping up onto it or if they have been to the fields barefooted
751 they may wash their feet before stepping up onto it. But the area of cleanliness ends with the step. Beyond the step is a different sort of territory.
[351] Yet even in the yard there is a limit to the amount of trash that may be al-
[514] lowed to accumulate before it is swept away. The practice of urinating in the yard is distasteful to the American observer, but there is perhaps less basis for objection to it as a health hazard. Urine is relatively harmless. Feces, however, go into the toilet. If an untrained child defecates in the yard usually someone cleans up the spot.